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in preparing both rulers and people to adopt them in good faith and downright earnest. When our society a few years ago petitioned Congress in behalf of an International Tribunal to insure general and permanent peace, we were told, as the upshot of a very able and elaborate report on the subject by the accomplished LEGARE, who died in 1843 at the head of the Department of State, that our plan is the beau-ideal of what the world needs, the perfection of all expedients for international justice and peace, yet that it will never do to legislate in advance of popular opinion, and rulers can take no decisive, successful measures in execution of our scheme, until public sentiment shall be brought more generally and more strongly in its favor.

Here, then, we come to the necessity of just such efforts as we are now making, and would fain increase tenfold, to spread over our whole country such facts, and arguments, and appeals as have already done so much to change public opinion both in New England and Old England. Were all Christendom as near right on this subject as Massachusetts, there would probably be no more war among nations nominally Christian, and we might have, in some form, a Congress of Nations in less than twenty years. And now is the time to work in our own land with a moral certainty of success. The public mind, partly in consequence of the Mexican War, is more awake and more impressible on the subject than ever before. Now is the time to strike "while the iron is hot;" and one blow struck aright at the present moment, may do more good than ten or twenty at a future day. It was this consideration which suggested our forthcoming Review of the Mexican War, and which now makes us very anxious to spread it, as soon as it comes from the press, in all the high places, and into every nook and corner of our land.

PEACE CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

WE spoke in our last of this Congress, and said it was to be held in Paris; but, for reasons arising from the political condition of France, it was transferred to Belgium, and took place in Brussels, Sept. 20 and 21. The London Herald of Peace for October, thrice the usual size, is devoted exclusively to a report of this convention; and from its pages, and a pretty full account by Mr. Burritt in the Christian Citizen, we shall condense a summary sufficient, we trust, for the satisfaction of our readers.

It seems that this movement originated with Mr. Burritt; but the London Peace Society united in it, and furnished nearly all the deputation (about 150) that went from England. From the United States there were only two delegates, Messrs. Burritt and Clapp; but the whole number present

at the Congress amounted to some 300, and embraced, among other men of eminence, members of the British Parliament, the French National Assembly, and the Belgian Government. Eight or ten members of Parliament, among them Joseph Brotherton, John Bowring, LL.D., and Richard Cobden, who were unable to attend, expressed their cordial concurrence in the object of the Congress. The prominent speakers were, from this country, *Elihu Burritt* and *Henry Clapp, Jr.*; from England, *W. Ewart, M. P.*, *J. S. Buckingham*, *Joseph Sturge*, *John Stoble*, *Henry Vincent*, *Rev. Thomas Spencer*, *Edmund Fry*, son of the late Elizabeth Fry, *Rev. Henry Richard*, Secretary of the London Peace Society; from Belgium, *M.M. Visschers*, *Alvin*, *Bourson*, *Vanhoorebeke* and *Dr. Scheler*, connected with the Belgian Government, besides *M. Roussell*, Professor in the University of Brussels, *Rev. M. Panchaud*, of the same city, *Baron Reiffenberg*, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Literature; from France, *M. Francisque Bouvet*, member of the French National Assembly; *M. Suringar*, from Holland, *M. Bertinetti*, from Turin, and *Gov. Roberts*, from Liberia.

The Belgian Government appears to have co-operated very cordially in making arrangements for the Congress. "The Anglo-American deputation," sent forward for this purpose some fortnight before the meeting, "were introduced," says the London Herald, "to the Prime Minister, to whom at his own request they stated in writing the object of their visit to Brussels. At a subsequent interview, the Minister expressed his concurrence in the sentiments which had been explained to him, and his readiness to afford them every assistance for the successful promotion of the proposed Congress. He desired his Chief Secretary to give them letters of introduction to one of the most distinguished Members of the Government, *M. Visschers*, a gentleman well known for his philanthropic sentiments, who received the deputation with the greatest courtesy. *M. Visschers* issued letters of invitation to many leading men of Brussels, known to entertain sentiments favorable to universal Peace, to meet the deputation in the saloon of the Minister of the Interior on an appointed day; at which meeting the same gentleman explained to those assembled the object which the deputation had in view, for the purpose of enlisting their sympathies and assistance in the cause. This appeal was immediately responded to by a number of gentlemen present forming themselves into a Provisional Committee, who under the Presidency of *M. Visschers*, and aided by the English deputation, completed the necessary arrangements in time for the opening of the Congress on the arrival of the delegates from England."

Our readers, we doubt not, will be gratified with a specimen of Mr. Burritt's account of these proceedings:—

"At 10, A. M., we went to the palace or hotel of the Minister of the Interior. A few gentlemen were already assembled, among whom were *M. Visschers*, *Baron Reiffenberg*, *M. Alvin*, Director of the Public Instruction, and other notabilities of the metropolis. We were shown into a large and elegant saloon, which soon began to fill with persons connected with the learned professions, and positions under Government. When about 30 persons had assembled, *M. Visschers* opened the proceedings with a short

speech, describing our objects in holding the Convention in Brussels, and commending them as highly desirable at the present time. He read our letter to the Minister, which he had caused to be translated into French, and stated the reasons for which he had convened the meeting. Mr. Middleton then read a kind of introductory statement of our views in coming to Brussels, which was received with warm tokens of sympathy and approbation. Mr. Scoble gave an exposition of the measures we proposed to discuss in the Convention, and described the progress of the peace movement in England and America. I followed with some statements in regard to the system of *armed peace*, which we sought to abolish. In the course of my few remarks, I mentioned the fact, that all the exports of *five* nations as wealthy as Great Britain, would not pay the current military expenditures of Christendom. After our observations, M. Visschers proposed the formation of a Committee of Belgian gentlemen to assist in organizing the Convention, and in giving effect to its proceedings. Nine or ten volunteered to serve, and one of the number was the General Secretary of the Prime Minister. Thus, we have the direct patronage of the Belgian Government, which has taken up the demonstration as one of its own to the civilized world."

The Belgians gave the friends of peace a most cordial reception. At the time announced for their expected arrival in the steamer at Ostend, "a large concourse of persons, headed by the Mayor, the Sheriff, and other civil authorities, were in attendance to welcome with friendly greetings the British delegates, and conduct them to a sumptuous entertainment, which had been provided for them." A Brussels paper states, that "the vessels in the harbor were decorated with the national colors, and the Mayor and Aldermen were in attendance to welcome them in the name of the town."

"The first sitting of the Congress was held on Wednesday, the 20th of September, at one o'clock, at the *Salle de la Société de la Grand Harmonie*. This magnificent saloon was decorated for the occasion with great splendor and taste. At the further end of the Hall, behind the platform, was placed an allegorical statue of Peace, holding a bee-hive in her hand; at her feet were grouped the different emblems of the Sciences, Arts, Agriculture, and Commerce. The whole was surrounded with evergreens, garlands of flowers, and flags with the national colors of Belgium. In front was placed the bust of the King. All around the hall were hung the banners of Holland, of England, of Germany, of France, of the United States, and of Italy, together with two others, with an inscription in gold letters, worked on white ground, 'The London Peace Society,' and 'The American Peace Societies.'"

M. VISSCHERS, Chairman of the Provisional Committee, and subsequently President of the Congress, said, on taking the chair to organize the meeting, "Before I call upon the Secretary to read the names of those who have sent in their adherence to the Congress, permit me to convey my sincere and solemn thanks to the delegates of the English and American Societies, who originated the idea of this meeting, and to the members of Foreign Societies, and friends of Belgium, who have so readily united in the same object. In saying this, I believe I am giving expression to the united sentiments of the country to which I belong."

GENERAL SKETCH OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

We stated in our last the topics that were to be discussed at this Congress; and we cannot perhaps give a better general view of its proceedings than by quoting the substance of Mr. Burritt's report:—

"At half-past 12, Sept. 20, I went to the *Salon de la Grande Harmonie*. The spectacle presented to the eye was picturesque, novel and interesting.

I had never seen such a room appropriated to a public meeting before. It seemed like an immense private parlor, most elegantly furnished. Its white ornamental walls were hung with the flags of all nations, interspersed with pure white banners, bearing the emblems of Peace. On some of them was inscribed, '*Welcome to the Friends of Peace.*'

M. Visschers arose and pronounced his opening speech, in which he gave a lucid summary of the history of Peace societies and efforts up to the current moment. He was cheered enthusiastically when he took his seat, and we all felt gratified that such a man was found to inaugurate the Peace movement on the Continent. After the reading of a few letters from distinguished persons who had been invited to be present, the order of the day called up the first essay upon the *iniquity, inhumanity, and absurdity of war, as an arbitrator of international differences*, written by Edmund Fry, and read in French by L. A. Chemanowzow, of London. M. Bouvet, of the French National Assembly, then mounted the tribune, and delivered a learned and eloquent discourse on the *necessity and practicability of a Congress of Nations*. He was followed by Baron Reiffenberg, who demonstrated the *necessity of a general enlightenment of the popular mind, in order to abolish war*. Mr. Ewart, M. P., then made an excellent and practical speech, in which he uttered some noble and generous sentiments towards France. When he left the tribune, M. Bouvet arose, and, meeting him half way, shook him by the hand in the most cordial manner. This interesting incident was appreciated to every shade of its significance, and elicited a burst of applause from the whole assembly. J. S. Buckingham next delivered one of his clear, compact and conclusive speeches, upon nearly all the bearings of war, which made a deep impression.

The evening session opened at half-past 7. After the *proces-verbal* was read, the first resolution, upon the iniquity, inhumanity and absurdity of war, was offered to the meeting. I shall never forget that moment. The Congress, composed of about an equal number of Englishmen and Continentals, was called to decide upon the moral character of war within a few miles of Waterloo, or, as it were, to lay the basis of the cause of Peace on the Continent. We had felt some solicitude in regard to the declaration which was to go out to the world from the Convention, especially as some of the members of the Belgian Committee had evinced a desire to modify all strong terms; but, on meeting in the Committee Room, just before the opening of the evening session, the following resolution was adopted:

'The Congress declares, that an appeal to arms to settle international differences, is a usage condemned alike by religion, reason, justice, humanity, and by the interests of the people; that it is, therefore, a duty and a means of safety for the civilized world to adopt proper measures for bringing about the entire abolition of war.'

When M. Visschers arose to put this resolution, I almost held my breath, doubting whether a declaration of such a sweeping character could be espoused by such an assembly; but, as he read the resolution a second time, and asked all in its favor to arise, the whole assembly, with but one visible exception, arose; and after a moment's silence, as if struck with their unanimity, an enthusiastic peal of applause burst forth, especially from the English delegates, who seemed to appreciate in a lively manner the conquest of the principle. The magnificent hall was well filled with an intelligent audience, in addition to the members of the Congress, when this important resolution was passed; and all seemed to give their silent adhesion to the sentiments which it expressed.

The order of the day was taken up, and an essay, by Wm. Stokes, on the *subject of arbitration*, was read in French, and well received. Mr. Scole then read a letter from Richard Cobden to Joseph Sturge, which produced a powerful impression upon the assembly. M. Roussell, Professor

in the Royal University at Brussels, ascended the tribune and delivered a beautiful address in favor of arbitration, and was followed by several other Belgian speakers on the same side. Next arose a contrary spirit, Don Ramon de la Sagra, from Madrid. He seemed the very genius of controversy, and entered upon the defence of the brute force regime with acrimonious and dogmatic zeal, declaring it to be the only basis of social order. Wars and fighting had always been a part of humanity, and could not be condemned without condemning humanity. J. S. Buckingham replied to him in French, in an admirable manner, completely refuting his arguments. Several short speeches followed from different members on the same side, and the element of discussion thus unexpectedly thrown into the meeting by the Spanish Don, imparted vivacity and brilliance to the proceedings of the evening.

At 10, Sept. 21, the morning session opened with a full house, all appearing to be deeply interested in the expected proceedings. After the reading of the *procès-verbal*, M. Visschers proposed the following resolution, as embodying the sense of the meeting upon the subject of arbitration, discussed yesterday:

'That it is of the highest importance to urge upon the different governments of Europe and America, the introduction of a clause in all international treaties, providing for the settlement of all disputes by arbitration; that war may be avoided, and the way thus effectually prepared for a permanent appeal to the great principles of justice, which it will be the object of a High Court of Nations to consolidate and apply.'

The resolution was carried, with only two dissenting votes. The subject of a *Congress of Nations* was now called up. My essay, embracing all the principal points, was listened to with fixed attention, and the illustrations upon which I had bestowed some care, seemed to make a favorable impression. A short and telling letter from Dr. Bowring was next read, and elicited much applause. A man, with long, thick, black hair, then took the tribune, and read a learned and elaborate essay upon a Congress of Nations. It was Professor Bertinatti, from Turin, a distinguished jurist, who appeared deeply versed in the whole subject, especially with the best American authorities upon it. He was in Brussels at the time, and seeing the proposition of a Congress of Nations on our programme, he brought out an erudite dissertation in favor of it. This was to me a grateful and surprising coincidence. His points, illustrations, authorities, dates, &c., were almost identical with those I had employed. Indeed, the coincidence was so striking, that many remarked that one essay seemed a copy of the other in these particular features. No incident connected with the discussions affected my mind more pleasantly than this. I felt that the grand idea of a Congress of Nations had taken a deep hold of the thinking mind of the Continent, and that it would ere long be raised into a fixed fact, with the grateful acclamations of the people.

Henry Vincent next mounted the tribune. It was the first time he had presented himself, and the Belgians hardly knew what to expect from the short, dumpy, red-faced man who appeared before them. As he began, as usual, in a low voice, and labored for expression, many persons left the hall, and the current was setting strong for the door, when one of his thought-claps arrested it in a moment. By degrees his voice arose into the ruddy energy which distinguishes him, and the whole assembly began to feel his power. Onward and upward he soared, and his unpurged thoughts flashed with dazzling brilliance in their flight. Many seemed half raised from their seats by the power of his towering genius. It was eloquent almost to inspiration; and when he ended with the exclamation, '*The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, Alleluia!*' there was an explosion of applause in which every human being in the house seemed to join.

Ramon de la Sagra, after a little interruption, again mounted the tribune, and recapitulated his arguments of yesterday. He declared a Congress of Nations impossible, because it could not be established upon the basis of universal suffrage, which was not yet granted to all the peoples. Wm. Ewart, M. P., replied in an able manner, maintaining that universal suffrage was not absolutely necessary to establish a national law; but, if it were indispensable to the convocation of a Congress of Nations, it would soon be secured; for come it ought, and come it would, ere long. Two or three Belgian speakers followed in favor of the propositions.²⁷

During the next and closing session, the following resolutions were passed, with only one dissenting voice in any case:

"That the convention of a Congress of Nations, composed of duly appointed representatives, is of the highest importance, inasmuch as it would secure a well-digested code of laws for the regulation of international intercourse, and by constituting a High Court of Nations, would provide an effectual guarantee for the preservation of universal peace.

That this Congress consider it of primary importance to direct the attention of the different Governments to the necessity of a general and simultaneous disarmament, as they will thereby remove a fertile cause of irritation and alarm, inspire mutual confidence, and promote the interchange of those good offices which are best calculated to secure the lasting prosperity of the great Commonwealth of Nations.

That the bureau be authorized to appoint a Committee composed of delegates from different countries, for the purpose of making necessary arrangements for holding another Congress at such time and place as they may deem proper."

When the session drew near its close, and nearly a dozen speakers were on the list to address the assembly, while only one more could be heard, the Congress took a special vote to hear Gov. *Roberts*, who mounted the tribune, and made a short, practical speech, bringing out a fact which told impressively upon the audience. Don Ramon, the Spaniard, had declared arbitration clauses or treaties and a Congress of Nations to be impracticable, because there was no basis of faith. Gov. Roberts stated that he had caused to be inserted in treaties made with many of the African tribes, a clause binding the parties to refer their difficulties to arbitration. He had thus succeeded in preventing war from breaking out between those savage tribes for ten years. If the measure were practicable among such populations, whose ruling passion was war, what might it not do for Peace, if adopted by civilized and Christian nations!

A good deal of friendly enthusiasm marked the close of the Congress. M. *Roussell*, the accomplished Advocate of Brussels, and Professor in its University, arose and said: "Allow me to thank, in the name of Belgium, the honorable strangers and good philanthropists, who have left their homes, and come hither to propogate ideas of humanity, and to submit to us propositions which we shall regard as emanations from our own heart. Across the immensity of the seas we will shake hands, and they shall remain clasped. England, America, and Belgium shall henceforth be united in the same thought of peace and prosperity. We shall love you as you love us; and we shall co-operate together in endeavoring to realize the beautiful imperishable idea which you have come to implant in our hearts."

A resolution of thanks to the President having been passed, amid great applause, he replied: "Gentlemen, you will easily comprehend my embarrassment. The words of the heart are few and simple; and I cannot find enough of them to express my profound gratitude. On the arrival of your delegation, I found them to be men of philanthropy, of honorable

and admirable views, and of sentiments which vibrate in all hearts, and will long be the joy of my days. In accepting the duties of the Presidency, I said to myself, British politeness and kindness will render this task less onerous to me; but I was far from expecting such wisdom on the part of the assembly, such consideration from every one of its members, and such talent as has been displayed by so many honorable strangers. A precious and lasting remembrance of this Congress will ever be cherished by me. You have spoken of various means for bringing in the reign of Peace on Earth; allow me to propose to you, in the name of Belgium, to hold a second Congress here next year. This will be a most effective means of promoting the object we have in view, and will besides confer a great obligation on the Belgian nation."

Wm. Ewart now proposed to the English and American delegates to give a warm expression of their thanks to the Belgian nation for its hospitable reception, and for all the numerous acts of kindness and courtesy on the part of its citizens since our arrival. Then came a real English demonstration. In an instant, the whole delegation were on their feet, and never did the clapping of a multitude of hands speak more intelligibly and feelingly. Then came round after round of cheers. The Belgians stood in wondering silence during this outburst of applause. Several short speeches followed a vote of thanks to the Vice Presidents and other officers of the Congress. The President again rose and said: "Gentlemen, before we separate, receive our thanks. In returning to your country, may you carry with you a pleasant remembrance of Belgium. You have been pleased to speak of Belgian hospitality; but in this virtue, as in many others, you are our masters. I only state a fact when I say, that your arrival among us has seemed the dawn of a new era. The presence of the apostles of peace in our city is an event which has deeply impressed our population. And in conclusion, I may say that the first stone of the Temple of Peace has been laid by you at Brussels."

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES.

THE PRESIDENT.—"Permit me, gentlemen, rapidly to describe the objects, and recite the operations put forth by the English and American Peace Societies, for promoting their ideas of universal federation and concord among all nations. It was at the close of the long wars which had signalized the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, that the first Peace Society was formed at New York, during the course of the year 1815. The *London Peace Society* was organized in June, 1816, which has many auxiliary associations in England and Scotland, as well as on the continent of Europe. The United States possess many societies of a similar nature, and among others the *American Peace Society*, formed on the 8th of May, 1828. At Geneva, the Count de Sellon founded in 1830 a Peace Society. On the 24th of March, 1841, the Society of Christian Morals instituted at its sitting at Paris, a committee of Peace. A new society was established a short time after, in that capital, under the name of the *Peace Society of Paris*. Following the example of the Count de Sellon, the societies of America, of London, and of Paris offered prizes for the best essays on the subject. Many of these have been published, and develop in general sound and excellent views. A Peace Convention, composed of delegates from Europe and America, was held in London, on the 22nd of June, 1843; Mr. Charles Hindley, M.P., and a distinguished orator, whose absence we now deeply regret, occupied the chair. The assembly unanimously adopted a proposition to address all civilized governments, praying them to introduce into their treaties a clause, engaging, in case of any international differences arising, to refer them to the mediation of friendly powers. This Address was transmitted to thirty-four governments, in both hemi-

spheres. For some years there have existed in our own country two Societies, at Brussels and Mons, founded on the same principles as the London Society. Notwithstanding this, very little was hitherto known in Belgium, of the labors of those eminent philanthropists, who were endeavoring to promote the advent of a new era, when the triumph of Peace and intelligence shall be substituted for the spirit of conquest and domination.

That illustrious English statesman, Bacon, proclaimed, more than two centuries ago, that the strength of all human society was in its intelligence, and that with this did its powers grow or decline. The pen is more mighty than the sword. We do not desire the suicide of nations; they must be powerful in order to be respected; but there is one thing more powerful, more irresistible than canons and bayonets, and that one thing is *public opinion*.

As the physical world, so also the moral world, has its laws, often for a time undefined. In its evolutions, humanity follows a march which reveals the grand thought of the Creator—it is that of progression. The moral world, even as the physical world, has its organic types. The human mind is moulded for a time in a particular form; and when that time has elapsed, it bursts asunder that form, in order to assume a new one. The human mind constantly enlarges; it commenced with association—a federation between families or tribes; it will propose to itself one day, it is proposing it now, even at this time, the federation of the great human family. Thus the ancient world reveals to us the existence of an *Amphictyonic Council* in Greece, a supreme senate, to which appeal was made, to determine all the differences which should arise among the confederated republics of Greece. While it existed, that senate was just and respected. The intrigues of Philip of Macedon occasioned its fall; but it had during fifteen centuries contributed to the well-being of Greece. Other leagues, equally celebrated, as that of the *Achaean* and *Lycian*, constituted tribunals for settling disputes. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show us also similar examples in the establishment of the *Teutonic League*, and the *Helvetic Union*. These leagues were formed of independent states, with a general diet. Henry IV. had conceived a vast system of association of states—a European confederation. The Memoirs of Sully present valuable details respecting this matter. The decision of differences was here also referred to the arbitration of a supreme court. These ideas, even in the time of Henry IV., were not quite new. The great Queen of England, Elizabeth, had seconded his views. History does not reveal the motive which prompted the King of France to conceive this project,—whether it was a Christian league against the Mahomedans, or a political confederation to counterbalance the influence of the house of Austria and Spain. But the dagger of Ravallac put an end to the generous project of the King. The good Abbe de St. Pierre, who died in 1743, reproduced the plan of Henry IV. Two fruitless attempts were made in the National Convention of France for the adoption of a *declaration of the rights of nations*, which might serve as a basis for all international treaties. Every event, Gentlemen, according to the course of Providence, will be brought to pass in its own time and its own place. The European League of Henry IV. demanded the creation of imposing military forces, of fleets and armies. But at present, thanks to the progress of civilization, and despite the recent tempests, the time is not far distant when nations, perceiving the evils of all kinds which wars produce, will look upon them with horror—opinion will govern the world. When all nations shall possess liberal institutions, the spirit of conquest and domination will become impossible.

The time for conquerors is past. Throughout all Europe, with slight exceptions, the Chamber of the Commons exercises the control, reducing every proposition to a question of money. I will not attempt to describe to

you the advantages of Peace. But does not England owe to Peace her extraordinary prosperity, her gigantic works of public utility? Has not the aspect of Europe completely changed during the last thirty years? The great establishments for charity and instruction, the factories, the canals, the roads, the railways, the electric telegraphs, the rapid means of locomotion, and the communication of human thought, the nearer approach of soul and heart, the fusion of interest and sentiments, to what are all these advantages owing? To Peace.

The ancient prejudices, the ancient barriers have disappeared, or the time is not far distant when they will disappear. A national poet of France has greeted this dawn of a new era, at a fete given at Liancourt, on the occasion of the evacuation of the French territories by the allies. A member of the illustrious house of La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, whom we have the happiness to number among those present to-day, can tell you better than I can the impression produced at that time by this stanza of Beranger:

I have seen Peace descending from afar,
Strewing the earth with gold, and flowers, and fruit;
The air was calm, and the fell god of War
Stilled the thunders of his murderous bruit.
"Nations," she cried, "equal in bravery;
French, English, Belgian, Russ, and Germany,
Oh, form one hallowed union, strong and free,
And grasp each others' hands in cordial amity."

The poet has not comprised, in this enumeration, our friends the Americans; but we stretch our hand to them across the immensity of the ocean."

M. BOUVER, *of the French National Assembly*.—"I count myself happy to be engaged in the work of universal peace, with the representatives of that great principle who have come here from all parts of the civilized world. I am happy also that this should take place in a country which is the neighbor and friend of my own country, France; and I rejoice, Gentlemen, that the first Universal Congress of the friends of Peace should have assembled in this land of Belgium, where blind and brutal War has so often decided the fate of empires, without bringing any result to the nations but fresh calamities. I will not attempt to describe to you the sad spectacle of that horrible duel between nations, which has made humanity to be always a bleeding victim before the face of Heaven. Does not the cry of that victim constantly resound in your ears, and harrow your feelings? Is it not that cry that has brought you together into this place, to devise some means of succor and relief? Ah! Gentlemen, it is a hard task which you have undertaken, to wrestle by intelligence and morality with the destructive scourge of War. But it is a noble task, a sublime apostleship, to labor for the recognition by the governments of earth of a form of justice more elevated and profitable than the murderous decision of battles. It may be said, that it is an Utopian scheme. Yes! it is Utopian—a dream—one of those visions which, after floating for a long time before the eyes of slumbering communities, rouse them at length to find the reality standing before them.

Gentlemen, War has received its death-blow. Already the giant, grown old in crime, can scarcely move its limbs; the spirit of commerce and literature has slain it. The work which remains for us, is not so much to destroy War, as to constitute Peace. And is this problem incapable of solution? You think it is not. And in reality, that which reason and morality demand, the material interests of the world enforce with the most urgent necessity. Who does not see that commercial transactions are so spread abroad from one end of the world to the other, that any commotion instantly affects our national prosperity with chilling fear, and the apprehension of impending ruin? Who does not see that states themselves are so sunk in

debt, that they have so compromised the public prosperity by their enormous military expenditure, that they ought to feel the necessity of a general disarmament, in order to permit them to dispose in a better way of their financial resources? For myself, this general necessity appears to me so obvious, that I do not think there is a single Government in Europe whose very existence will not be menaced, if they refuse to adopt this only effectual method which presents itself for relieving the people from that weight of taxation which now fetters their prosperity.

No, Gentlemen, the problem is *not* incapable of solution. The nations at present stand opposite each other in a state of barbarism, without a common jurisdiction, without any bond of association, exposed to the contingencies of war and discord. But this was the case with individuals before they contracted the sacred bond of family. And was it not the same with families, tribes, and provinces, until they had accepted that unity of jurisdiction which gave them Peace, by constituting them into a nation? Form, then, to-day, and raise over the nations a general law of association; a representative jurisdiction, which may be to them what national constitutions are to the families and provisional divisions of the different kingdoms.

In order to appreciate the importance of this Universal Congress, considered as the regulator and protector of the general interests, it will be sufficient to show how exactly it corresponds with the actual necessities of the nations. I do not here speak of moral and intellectual wants, but of such only as are material. Is it not evident, in surveying the general aspect of the world, that it is so divided as that one country possesses in abundance those productions which other countries want, and that one part suffers a privation of what in another part is useless? Spain, Portugal and France, for instance, abound in wines, while England, Germany and Russia are destitute of them. Russia again, and Australasia, are encumbered by their wools, while in France and England woolen stuffs are comparatively high in price. England and Sweden abound in iron and timber, articles which are very rare in the south. In short, so it is throughout the earth. Gold is here, platina is there; salt, coals, sulphur, lead, tin, brass, silver, mercury, &c., are distributed variously over the face of the globe. And this is true, not merely as between different countries, but very often between the different provinces of the same country. But even supposing that all nations had, like England, the United States and Belgium, resolved in a great measure the problem of the domestic consumption of their own produce by their establishments of public credit, and their abundant means of communication, still the commercial tendency is not satisfied; it is not great and prosperous, unless it has free vent without as well as within. Commerce, like the human mind, demands universality. Such, Gentlemen, is at present the true condition of commerce. There are three things necessary to its full development—facility, liberty and security. During that temporary truce, which we now call peace, these different advantages exist in a small degree, but not to the extent, nor with the certainty that is necessary. On land, for example, the liberty of commerce is shackled on every frontier by the pitiful system of customs; its products are liable to be confiscated in case of a sudden declaration of war, or even the mere dread of hostilities. On the sea, there is yet more reason for distrust; a vessel coming from America, or the East Indies, is never quite sure of arriving in Europe without running the chance of being captured by a ship of war belonging to some country which has become an enemy during her absence. And thus, Gentlemen, I repeat that facility, liberty and security are wanting to commerce; and these valuable guarantees cannot be secured without constituting a Congress, which might call to its bar the disputes that shall arise between states, and treat

the interests of the different nations with a view to the general good. Such a Congress, I say, would guarantee to commerce security, liberty, and facility. Security by abolishing War, pulling down fortresses, diminishing in proportion the military forces of the different nations, and organizing a police for the great highways of commerce on sea and land; liberty, by repealing with wise precaution the tariffs of nations against each other, and proclaiming the liberty of the seas; facility, by opening new means of communication between nations at the common expense, whether by carrying roads through interposing mountains, or by establishing railways, or cutting through those isthmuses of land which now arrest the course of navigation. There might be established, for example, a railway between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, or across Egypt to the East Indies; the Isthmus of Corinth, and the Isthmus of Panama might cease to be obstacles to navigation; the first in the Mediterranean, and the other between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Ocean. Such grand enterprises, which may appear now perhaps impracticable, would become of easy execution when the united power of nations, combining together those material forces which have been hitherto absorbed in War, should be directed to an object common and advantageous to all people.

I have said, Gentlemen, that the force of events will produce this result. But your task does not the less remain entire. It is for you, to be the teachers of the world, the apostles of this great necessity—happily so in harmony with the designs of Providence—to speak at the same time to the Governments and to the peoples. And if you are met again with the cry of Utopianism, expose to their eyes their own miseries, their financial and commercial condition—how pauperism constantly swells round the social edifice, and that amidst abundance of the productions of agricultural and manufacturing industry, without any assignable reason for so strange a phenomenon but the universal disorganization. Point out to them the different forms of government sinking down in the impotence of their isolation, and everywhere crumbling as if smitten with a fatality; show to them the resources of all states drained and absorbed by their enormous debts. These evils are not Utopian, Gentlemen; they are arguments forcible, urgent, decisive; and woe to the Government which refuses to listen to them! But in more than one country, you have the help of intelligent men, who comprehend the necessity and advantage of continually reducing the standing armies, and who only ask that other governments should make a similar reduction. Do you not think that England finds herself too heavily charged with maintaining alone, and at such enormous expense, a maritime police, from which she enjoys no greater advantage than the other powers? Do you think that France is not horribly tired of her armed Peace? Do you think that Germany and Holland, and Prussia and Belgium and Austria, and even Russia herself, are not weary of dragging the bullet which the military system has tied to their feet? I speak not of the United States; that model nation has no need that we should preach Peace to her; she has put it in practice with a wisdom which has made her in sixty years one of the most prosperous and happy countries of the world. Courage, then, ye generous friends of Peace! Propagate the idea of substituting for War the Tribunal of Nations. Address yourselves to peoples and kings, and doubt not for a moment of the ultimate success of your apostleship!"

MR. EWART, M.P.—"I had no intention to speak on this occasion; but I could not keep silence after the speech of M. Bouvet, the eloquent organ of the National Assembly of France. I have felt it to be my duty to speak in the name of my colleagues of the British Parliament. I declare here to M. Bouvet, that the English nation earnestly desire the progress and prosperity of France. For my part, I have always considered the pros-

perity of France as intimately connected with that of England. Away with those antiquated absurdities, which make the happiness of one nation to consist in the abasement of a rival! It is the interest—I might almost say the duty—of all nations, to desire the prosperity of all other nations, as their brethren.

I have been a member of the House of Commons for more than twenty years, and I can affirm that the immense majority of the British Parliament is in favor of Peace. I can go still further and add, that the majority of the English nation is animated by the most pacific sentiments. M. Bouvet has announced to you, that the sentiments which he has so eloquently expressed, are shared by a large number of the Members of the National Assembly of France.

Gentlemen, many great truths have been long treated as Utopian by the enemies of progress; but many of those alleged Utopianisms have already become truths universally recognized. Those who formerly in England proposed the Abolition of Slavery, found themselves exposed to ridicule and hatred; and yet, in spite of prejudices, and hostile interests, and the most formidable opposition, that truth has triumphed. Slavery is abolished in England; it is about to be abolished in France, and I will dare to say, it will be abolished in the United States of America. And so the doctrine of Universal Peace is treated now as Utopian, just as those other truths were before. But our opponents say, those doctrines may be very good in theory; but the moment has not yet come to discuss them. Now, it appears to me, Gentlemen, that at a time when the flames of War threaten again to be rekindled, when certain sparks appear to announce a general conflagration, the friends of Peace ought more than ever to lift up their voice against the horrors and abominations of War."

To show the spirit of the Congress, we subjoin here the closing remarks of M. Bouvet, on leaving for his duties in the National Assembly:—"I cannot leave you without expressing my gratitude for the kind, friendly, and fraternal welcome with which you have honored me. I shall ever remember it with the greatest pleasure. I owe my thanks in particular to Mr. Ewart, a Member of the British Parliament, not so much for his extreme kindness towards myself, as for the declaration that he made that the English Nation, and even the English Parliament, took a great interest in the prosperity and happiness of the French people. I shall carry those words home with me into my own country, where they will be received with as much confidence as they have been received by myself. But I must state also that the French Nation and their Representatives entertain a deep sympathy for the English people; and that every day in France as well as in England, the barbarous prejudices of national enmity are fast dying away, and are considered only as food for vulgar controversy. Similar declarations have been made by Mr. Burritt, in the name of the United States; by M. Surringar, in the name of his fellow-countrymen in Holland; whilst my friend M. Vanhoorebeke, a member of the Belgian Parliament, has taken part in the Congress; and M. Visschers, our excellent President, has been, in particular, the organ of the sympathetic hospitality given by Belgium on this occasion to the Congress of Peace. I think I may add, that the people of Germany, in general, are animated by a good spirit; and that, notwithstanding the political divisions which agitate that land, the principle of social unity is gaining ground there every day. Thus, Gentlemen, Peace and Christian fraternity are making way in the world; and we may, with firm hope, inscribe upon our peaceful banner, the words of the poet quoted yesterday by the President of the Congress,—'Nations, form a holy alliance, and join hands with one another.'"

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.—"I have visited the ruins of Nineveh, of Babylon, of Palmyra, of Thebes, of Memphis. These cities, formerly so powerful

and renowned, superior in extent, in population, and in wealth to the most flourishing of these times, present now only heaps of ruins, over which a few lonely shepherds wander. They are enshrouded in the silence of death. If I come again to countries that are now inhabited, I find Athens, formerly the glory of the world, that occupies so high a place in our memories and imaginations—Athens, so illustrious in the arts and sciences, now fallen into decay, and we might almost say contempt. And where shall we find a more striking example of the truth we are now advocating, than in the fate of Rome, the mistress of the world? An eternal object of admiration, on account of the riches of art it contains, and the immense historical interest connected with it, Rome presents to the traveller, who now roams among her wonderful remains, the destiny reserved for a people who base their power on War. Rome, after having subdued the world, was in her turn swallowed up by conquest; an impressive example of the Divine declaration, ‘All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.’”

M. ROUSSELL, *Professor in the University of Brussels*.—“Gentlemen, I have studied the law for upwards of twenty years, and I will make to you this sincere confession, that all my studies have combined to teach me that Peace is the law of civilized humanity. Indeed, when I examine man in his individual capacity, I find that the first element of his happiness and of his perfection, is the peace of the soul, the peace of the heart. Peace of mind in a cottage is infinitely more preferable than disorder and remorse in a palace. It is by the aid of peace with himself and with others that a man becomes prosperous and rich, and ennobled by good qualities of mind and heart. If I consider man in a state of society, if I look upon him in the midst of his family, what do I find? Man is happy only when he is enjoying the peace of the domestic fireside. It is there that true happiness is to be found. But, turning to commercial and industrial associations, I find that concord is there also the first element of success. What says the old Roman writer?

‘Concordia, res parvæ crescunt; discordia, maximæ delabuntur.’

Why, then, should not that, which is a law for individuals, and for families and associations, be also a law for nations?

Let us examine the question in all its ramifications, and we shall be convinced that the day must come when wars and fightings shall cease. War is no novel thing. At first, it existed in the form of quarrels between individuals; but, thanks to God, these are now very rare. Its next stage was that of family feuds; of Wars between two rival lords, or two hostile cities. But these have all passed away; and only one species of War now remains, which we hope will soon share the same fate as its predecessors, and disappear from the face of the earth, while all nations join in singing a holy hymn to the glory of the Lord. Civilization is one great means for effecting this end; but we must also make use of several intermediate means; and the first of these is Arbitration.

I have risen, said M. Roussell at another session of the Congress, to request this meeting to proclaim, by a unanimous vote, that the time for universal disarmament has arrived. Many of my audience will be astonished by these words. What! they will say; must we disarm immediately! Must we destroy the security that we enjoy! Must we dispense with all protection from the aggression of foreign powers!

Gentlemen, let us begin by examining the basis on which armies repose, and the principle which induces one man to kill his neighbor, a thing he would never think of doing unless he was obliged. It is War which has given rise to armies; and, since you have just condemned War, as a necessary consequence, you should now condemn armies.

But, I am told, we do not want armies to wage War; we want them to sustain an armed Peace. An armed Peace! what an idea! we might just as well talk of a living corpse. Dante, I think, has said, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, if you wish to preserve Peace, prepare for War: would he not have been more correct in saying, if you wish for Peace, prepare for Peace? What nonsense to seek to obtain an object by preparing for its exact opposite! This is an armed Peace! An enormous contradiction, whose only support is a Latin proverb. What is the use of an armed Peace? You wish for Peace, and yet prepare for War; you found cannon, you make cartridges, and you multiply elements of destruction; but you do not put a match to the tinder for fear of causing a conflagration. This is an armed Peace.

And who would oppose a disarmament? Is there any one desirous for the continuance of War? The people who pay taxes say, I am for Peace, for then I shall have less to pay. This is a sordid motive, it is true, but a very general one; because the material things of life cannot be dispensed with. I will consult military men themselves on the subject of disarmament, and say to them, do you like to take away life? Is it with pleasure that you see dead bodies, conflagrated towns, and other horrors that I shudder to mention? They will answer me, we are not afraid; but our hearts are touched with pity when we receive the order to kill. An overwhelming majority would reply in favor of a disarmament; and nearly the whole army would unite in saying, our mission is not to kill, but to live and let live.

But, perhaps, I shall be asked, if you disband the army, what will you do with all the soldiers? Why, open our arms to receive them. It will be the happiest day of my life, when a retired colonel pleads against me in a court of law. We will invite them to a banquet of a life of labor; glory to Peace which gives life, which gives prosperity! This is what we will do to them. The question of disarmament may now be considered as settled; for this is not the only place where it will be discussed. There are some soldiers among this audience, and their hearts beat, touched by the voice of truth. Surely, then, if those who are said to be interested in the question, as the natural opponents of our project, hear the voice of truth, our object is gained—the disarmament will take place, and all men will embrace each other in token of mutual confidence.

I shall be told of the interior security of a nation. This certainly requires some material safeguard, but of another nature than War, for War is the death, the carnage of our brethren. I grant that a certain force is necessary to keep in order fools and madmen; but this force must be wise, provident and intelligent. War is intelligent only to slay; the greatest tactician is nothing better than a clever executioner, whose glory rests on heaps of dead bodies. Disarmament is a necessity of civilization, since Peace is a necessity of civilization. Perhaps we shall not perceive this; but our children will assuredly acknowledge it; and the day will come when men shall join hands in brotherhood instead of engaging in battle."

REV. MR. PANCHAUD, of *Brussels*.—"Gentlemen, it is as a citizen of a Republic which has inscribed neutrality in its constitution; it is as a fellow-citizen of the eloquent gentleman who has just addressed you, that I present myself before you; but it is, especially, as a Christian that I join myself with you, as an associate in your labors. I look upon your proceedings with the deepest interest; and I will endeavor, by all means in my power, to maintain the necessity of substituting Arbitration in the place of those Wars which for so many years have devastated the Continent. I have for a long time taken a deep interest in this question; but I cannot describe to you how I felt my devotion to the cause of Peace increased,

when, a few months ago, I read in the public papers, that on Easter-day, in the Dutchy of Schleswig, two contending armies met near a quiet and peaceful village; the people rallied round their pastor, and a battle took place, in which more than sixty men were killed. I asked myself if it was Christian for men, who profess to worship the same Saviour, thus to meet and fight on the very day on which Jesus Christ proclaimed from Heaven, 'Peace on earth and good-will amongst men.'

If we carefully reflect on the measure now before us, we shall find that it is a doctrine preached by Jesus Christ himself: 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; and if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more.' This is Arbitration, Gentlemen. Arbitration is a law preached by Jesus Christ."

We have quoted so largely from the speeches, though a mere fraction of the whole, that we have little space for extracts from the able and pertinent dissertations read before the Congress, and published in the account of its proceedings. There were four prepared, one by EDMUND FRY, another by ELIHU BURRITT, and two by WILLIAM STOKES, besides one by a learned gentleman from Turin, M. BERTINATTI. We subjoin a few specimens:—

EDMUND FRY—*Absurdity and Injustice of War*.—"There was a time when personal quarrels were always settled by an appeal to the sword, and the consequence was that life and property were never more insecure. The progress of society has changed this barbarous custom. Law has superseded the sword, and is found a far more effectual defence, both of life and property; and he who now proceeds to fighting for his rights, is treated as a brawler, and punished for every blow he gives. Does not reason suggest that the sword is equally impolitic for nations as for individuals, and that it will be equally wise and expedient for the Nations of Europe to combine that the sword shall settle disputes no more? If two men meet in the streets of Brussels, and quarrel, and shed each other's blood, we agree to treat them as criminals, and punish them accordingly; but if a hundred thousand men meet a few miles outside the city, deluge the whole plain with blood, and fill it with heaps of mangled corpses, we give them honor, and perpetuate the deed by applause, and every mark of substantial reward. Reason surely detests the inconsistency of this, and can never be satisfied until she obtains the protest of mankind against these enormities.

If no other argument could be adduced in condemnation of an appeal to War, it ought to be sufficient to point out its manifest injustice. It is the law of might, not of right; and numerous proofs could be furnished to show that in cases where Wars have been undertaken, with right manifestly on the side of the weaker party, yet the strength of the guilty party has triumphed. When opposing claims are put forward by two nations, involving questions of great complexity, it is evident that the coolest and clearest judgment, the most impartial discrimination, and the patient examination of conflicting evidence, are necessary to secure a just and proper decision. Now War is directly opposed to this rational course. It rouses the worst passions of the human heart, and stimulates revenge of the blackest character. The disgrace of a nation must be retrieved, or a certain territory obtained; and the machinery of War being at command, it is at once put into action, and then deeds are done in Christian lands, at which the world would have shuddered if perpetrated amidst the darkest heathenism.

War involves a manifest injustice, inasmuch as those who provoke the

quarrels are seldom the parties to fight the battles. Men are hired to risk their lives and limbs in the deadly strife, for the adjustment of disputes of which they know nothing, and in creating which they have had no share. Those who have originated the strife, keep carefully remote from all the personal danger, and coolly consign tens of thousands of their fellow-countrymen to the horrible penalties of War. There cannot be a more striking violation of the laws of equity than that 50,000 of the inhabitants of one country should be marshalled against 50,000 of some other country, and that, having no personal animosity against each other, they should be compelled to engage in deadly conflict, exhausting every contrivance for mutual destruction; whilst those whose objects they are working out, should shroud themselves in the security of the cabinet or the council chamber."

ELIHU BURRITT—*On a Congress of Nations*; a brief, but strong Essay.—Such a body (a High Court of Nations) would, in several senses, be to the great orbit of humanity what the sun is in the solar system; if not in the quality of light, at least in that of attraction. A presentiment of union would pervade the nations, and prepare them for a new condition of society. Wherever a question arose between two of them, the thought of War would not occur to either. The note of martial preparations would not be heard along their coasts. The press would not breathe thoughts among the people, calculated to stimulate sentiments and presentiments of hostilities. Each party would say to its government, 'There is the law; there is the Court; there sit the Judges! refer the case to their arbitrament, and we will abide by their decision.' Instead of the earth being shaken with the thunder of conflicting armies, and deluged with blood, to settle a question of right or honor, we should see reported, among other decisions of this Supreme Court of Nations, the case of England *versus* France, Prussia *versus* Denmark, or Mexico *versus* the United States. Thus, all these occasions of War, under the old regime of brute force, might be settled as legitimately and satisfactorily as any law-case between two sovereign states of the American Union. The Supreme Court of the United States is frequently occupied with a lawsuit between two states; and a case, entitled New York *versus* Virginia, or Ohio *versus* Pennsylvania, will often be found on the list of cases presented for trial. A resort to arms never occurs to the inhabitants of either of the litigant states, however grave may be the difference between them. The first results, then, of the erection of this High Court of Nations, would be the expulsion of the idea of War from the popular mind of Christendom; and all preparations for War would disappear in like manner.

All the Continental Governments are now undergoing the process of renovation, or reconstruction upon a popular basis. New political affinities have already been created between nations. Freedom of the Press, right of public meeting, of association, and other great popular prerogatives have been acquired. The community of nations is slowly approximating to the condition of the family circle. Now is the time to organize these social tendencies and national affinities into a fixed system of society. Everything favors the proposition. The great obstructions that would have opposed it a year ago, have been removed. Nations are gravitating into union; not giving up any essential qualities of independence or individuality, but confederating with each other under the attraction of mutual affinities. Then, why may we not link these large circles of humanity into one grand system of Society, by creating for it a common centre and source of attractions in the establishment of a High Court of Nations?"

M. BERTINATTI.—"At the present time, ought we to follow in the footsteps of our ancestors; or should we not rather put into operation a more rational law, for the good of mankind generally? An International Code,

containing the law which we now seek, was not thought an impossibility by two great men, before whose opinion on such subjects all ought to bow; I refer to Emanuel Kant and Jeremy Bentham. The knowledge that we have on our side the philosopher of Königsberg, and the great English juris-consult, will be sufficient to inspire us with some confidence in our researches, and persuade us that we are not spending our labor in vain, in the pursuit of a dream. Emanuel Kant, who perceived the practicability of an International Code, lays down as a principle, that the world may now be said to be *civilized* rather than *moralized*, and that, therefore, it is upon morality that we must lay the foundation of the edifice that we propose to build. The illustrious Bentham, whose genius was at once practical and fond of classification, has commenced the compilation of his International Code at the very point where we should wish the future European Congress to begin. After having told us that the laws of Peace should be *substantive* laws, and those of War *adjective* laws, proceeds to examine into the ordinary causes of War, and reduces them to those which I shall now enumerate:—1. The uncertainty of the laws of succession with respect to vacant thrones that are claimed by two parties. 2. Intestine commotions in neighboring States, occasioned by the same causes, or by disputes concerning the constitutional law between sovereigns and their subjects, or between different members of the sovereign body. 3. The uncertainty of the boundary-lines of States. 4. The uncertainty of the laws with respect to countries newly discovered by different nations. 5. Jealousies caused by forced concessions, more or less recent. 6. Hatred and religious prejudices. 7. All other causes that may lead to disputes between States bordering on each other.' Amongst the means which he proposes as calculated to prevent War are the following:—'1. The codification of such unwritten laws as are already established by custom. 2. New conventions and new international laws must be made on all unsettled points, that is to say, on nearly all matters that can possibly become the objects of dispute between two States. 3. An improvement in the style of laws and other acts.' How many Wars, says he, have originated solely, or principally, in the ignorance and incompetence of a lawyer or a geometrician? The better to insure the execution of his plan, Bentham adds the two following fundamental propositions:—'1. The reduction on a fixed scale of the naval and military forces of the different European powers. 2. The emancipation of the Colonies of each State.' Such, Gentlemen, is the project of the most eminent of English juris-consults.

After all, Gentlemen, the meeting of a Congress of Nations is by no means such a far distant event as it may be imagined to be. The great political transactions of Munster, Osnabruck, Utrecht, and Vienna have all borne their good or their evil fruits, and the time seems to have arrived for seriously examining whether, instead of pressures, juxta-positions, fusions, and such like political speculations, it would not be equitable, taking into consideration religious creeds, identity of language, legislation, literature, traditions, and everything that, properly speaking, constitutes the ethnographic and political element of a people, to make them so many separate portions, each belonging to and governing itself by virtue of its own authority, on the one hand, and united on the other hand with the great human family, formed of so many bodies, by the bonds of a confederation founded upon justice and fraternity. Commercial liberty, which is destined to make the circuit of the globe, could scarcely go alone, without bringing in its train the political confederation of all nations. The two are as closely connected as two sisters; and they must, of necessity, either flourish together, or perish, if not on the same day, yet at a short distance one from the other. And on that day on which a brilliant French orator

and poet addressed to Europe that circular, which found such easy access to the heart of every nation—on that very day was planted the twig from whence will spring, sooner or later, an European Congress, which will answer, if not our utmost expectations, at least a great part of our hopes, and will secure to our efforts and our desires both their accomplishment and their realization.”

WILLIAM STOKES.—On the importance of Arbitration, as an expedient preliminary to a Congress of Nations, he urges the following arguments, of which we quote only the heads:—

“1. It will familiarize the Governments themselves with a great law of action, which has been too long and too frequently overlooked.

2. It will habituate the communities of the different nations to the interposition and decision of this superior law.

3. It would powerfully tend to increased national friendships, by creating a mutual interest in each other's welfare and peace.

4. It will tend greatly to strengthen the affection of the people for their several governments, by furnishing direct proof that power is not held for selfish or brutal purposes, but for the good of mankind.

5. It will prove the true sincerity of a government in economising the resources of the people.

6. It would prevent the fearful destruction of life that now constantly results from an appeal to the sword.

7. It will become the best preliminary to a Congress of Nations, by habituating governments and communities to the principles on which the Congress will be founded.

In preparing for the more perfect state of Congressional union, a constant appeal to Arbitration will prove the very best preliminary. It will gradually familiarize the national disputants to the decision of a third party; it will insensibly remove the desire by removing the necessity for an appeal to force; it will make a resort to the sword less and less frequent, until it is abandoned altogether by mutual consent; and it will give increasing proof of the practical efficiency of moral principles in terminating disputes between the nations. Habituated to these practices and results, the governments of the world will be gradually prepared for their greater and more complete work in a ‘Congress of Nations.’ The appeal to simple justice and truth, to which frequent Arbitration will have trained them, will then become an habitual practice, with all the power of a fixed and admitted law; the impartial decisions of venerable wisdom and erudition concentrated in the Congress, will be regarded with a seriousness due to the gravest tribunal; the armies of the world, no longer needed in the intercourse of mankind, will be gradually disbanded until they totally disappear; and in the enjoyment of a Peace which none will ever desire to disturb, nations will ‘learn War no more!’”

LETTERS OF EXCUSE AND SYMPATHY.

Dr. BOWRING, a veteran in the British Parliament, and one of the most learned men in England, says:—

“I regret exceedingly my inability to accompany you to Brussels. The object is one of such great interest, of such high importance, so worthy of all the exertions of benevolent men, that I should have been happy to have offered you my humble co-operation. I feel, that by my inevitable absence, I am sacrificing a great pleasure; but I comfort myself with the hope, that this Congress of the friends of Peace will be the first chapter of a better history, more wise and more Christian. The world is becoming weary of War, its crimes, its miseries, and its follies. May success

crown the efforts of those who are seeking to secure for the world an era of harmony and Peace."

RICHARD COBDEN, the great champion of the Anti-Corn-Law League:—

"I regret my inability to accept the invitation to the Congress at Brussels; but I beg you to be the bearer of my best wishes for the success of your peaceful demonstration.

My opinion is asked upon three propositions which are to be submitted to the Congress:

1st. 'The expediency of recommending the insertion of an Arbitration clause in all international treaties, by which questions of dispute shall be settled by mediation.' I cordially approve of this proposition; but may I be allowed to suggest that it will be better to recommend that treaties be entered into *for the express purpose* of binding the contracting nations to submit their future quarrels to the decision of arbitrators. I do not think it would be easy to find an object more worthy of a separate treaty than that which is contemplated in this clause.

2ndly. 'The propriety of establishing a Congress of Nations to form an international code.' Until I hear the arguments upon which it is founded, I shall be in doubt as to the policy of this recommendation." (We cannot doubt his hearty approval of this last measure on a full understanding of its character and its claims.)

"3rdly. 'To recommend, as a matter of primary importance, general disarmament to the several governments of Christendom.' I hope the Congress will try to open the eyes of all the nations of Europe to the enormous expense and waste occasioned by their standing armaments. To accomplish this object you need only publish, in the different continental languages, a few simple facts. When I was last year travelling over the Continent, I took some pains to be correct in the following statistical details.—Bear in mind that no revolutionary symptoms had then appeared, and that the armaments have been everywhere increased during the present year.—I estimated the total *effective* force of the *regular* armies of Europe, in 1847, including that of Great Britain, to amount to upwards of 2,200,000 men, and the number employed on board ships of war to exceed 150,000; making together 2,350,000 regular soldiers and sailors. The National Guards of France and Switzerland, the Landwehr of Germany, and other bodies liable to temporary military service, I put down at a very moderate estimate, say 1,000,000. Add to these the armed police, civic guards, gens d'armes, and custom-house officers, and you will have a total of nearly 4,000,000 of men with arms in their hands; but, confining our attention for a moment to the 2,350,000 regular soldiers and sailors. This is called the peace establishment; but I doubt whether in the most active period of Napoleon's wars there was so large an effective armed force in Europe. There might have been a greater number on paper; but a far larger proportion was in hospital, or rendered non-effective from other causes.

It is not easy to compute the precise cost of these armaments. If the total expense on the Continent bore the same proportion per head as in England (but this would be an exaggerated estimate), the direct charges for the regular forces alone would amount to £250,000,000 (\$1,200,000,000) per annum. There is, however, a very large expense incurred for maintaining and repairing fortified places on the Continent, from which England is in a great measure exempt. Then we must bear in mind that the men who are thus wholly withdrawn from productive labor, are all in the vigor and prime of life; and assuming that they would be capable of producing, in agriculture or manufactures, wealth to the amount of £50 a year each,—a very moderate estimate,—it amounts to an additional loss of

£100,000,000, per annum. I have put down nothing for the cost of the arms and accoutrements of the National Guards and Landwehr, or for the value of the labor which they withdraw from private pursuits, and devote to occasional military services. Without attempting any exactness in my estimate, I will obviate all objections by understating the case, and therefore shall content myself by asserting that the cost of the standing armaments of Europe, exclusive of police, amounts to more than £200,000,000 (\$1,000,000,000) a year. This enormous burden must have greatly aggravated the sufferings of the industrious populations during the late bad seasons, and may have partly caused that discontent which has so often ended in revolution.

It may be objected that I appeal to low motives in thus dwelling upon the pecuniary view of the question. True; but if the New Testament has failed to inspire Christian nations with faith in the principles of Peace, I may surely be excused if I demonstrate how costly is their reliance for defence on the spirit of War. When Jenner found all his appeals to the humanity of certain parochial authorities fail, he at last succeeded in persuading them to adopt his discovery, by proving that it would cost less to vaccinate the poor than to pay for coffins for those who died of the small-pox. But there is no danger of the Congress losing sight of the moral aspect of the question. The modern system (for it is of modern growth) of maintaining huge standing armaments in time of peace, is a scandal to the boasted civilization of the age. It proclaims to the world a total want of confidence on the part of each European state, in the peaceful professions of the others; thus carrying us back to that state of society when barbarous tribes were constantly armed, expecting every moment to be attacked by their savage neighbors.

You will probably be treated with ridicule on the continent, as I have been in England, for advocating such a Utopian scheme as a general disarmament. The larger portion of mankind are, perhaps, at present, opposed or indifferent to our views. But we know that in contending for a principle based upon truth, and sanctioned by the laws of God, we have only to persevere to convert our minority into a majority. Your Congress will be the protest of this minority against a system repugnant alike to humanity and common sense, and I can only repeat the regret I feel in not being able to take a part personally in your proceedings."

We regret our inability to give a fuller abstract of the proceedings of the Peace Congress at Brussels. It obviously made a strong and very favorable impression, both in England and on the Continent. The London Herald for November, just received, is entirely filled with notices of the Congress found in the English papers alone, all favorable except the London Times; and the editor premises, in the next Herald, similar extracts from Continental papers. On Monday, Oct. 30, a very respectable deputation from the Congress had a gratifying interview with Lord John Russell; and the next day the friends of peace held in London a special conference, and adopted a series of important and practical resolves, and, among others, 'That a special effort should be made to raise a fund of *not less* than £5,000 (\$25,000) to bear the expenses of the enlarged operations contemplated there in this cause.' In the evening of the same day, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the mammoth Exeter Hall, which "was crowded to excess." We have no room now for details, and will merely add, that the demonstrations at Brussels and at

London, were very imposing, especially for a cause hitherto so little noticed, and seem to have been regarded by both friends and foes as marking an important era in the progress of this great moral movement. More in our next.

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**REVIEW OF THE MEXICAN WAR.**—The Essays have been nearly a month in the hands of the Judges, from whom we are daily hoping for a decision, when the work will be put to press with the least possible delay.

**AGENTS FOR THE CIRCULATION OF THE REVIEW.**—We wish to employ a large number, and shall allow them a liberal compensation. Application, with proper credentials, may be made, post-paid, to the Society's Corresponding Secretary, Boston.

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